A Grammar

of the

Dialect of West Somerset

Inaugural-Dissertation

von

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INTRODUCTION.

The great number of English county-periodicals bears witness to the general interest in local history and customs. Amongst the papers published by them there are scarcely any, however, that deal with local speech; and the few that do, limit themselves to giving lists of 'dialect-words'.

The cause is, no doubt, that for the study of grammar much patience and industry is required, which are all the more unlikely to be forthcoming because the English public does not appreciate the result of such painstaking work.

The formation of the English Dialect Society has, it is true, encouraged dialect-work. Its publications supply valuable materials to the student of English dialects[1]).

But these also are mostly useful only to the lexicographer of English dialects[2]); few give a full and clear account of the grammar of a dialect. Of the older works on English dialect grammar Dr. Murray's book on the dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland was the first to combine the descriptive and the historical treatment. This method was also applied by prof. Wright to the dialect of Windhill. Here, however, the descriptive part is only used as the basis for a history of the grammar of the dialect, especially of its sounds. The hope expressed at the appearance of Wright's book that many more grammars of the same thoroughness might be written, has not been fulfilled. Not until this year (1904) has a second English dialect been treated in the same way: the dialect of Adlington (Lancashire) by Alexander Hargreaves. Apart from Ellis's

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1) For a list of dialect-publications see prof. Wright's article *'Englische Mundarten'*, in Paul's Grundriss. In the second edition of the *Grundriss* the article has not been brought up to date.

2) They are now being incorporated in Wright's great work *'The English Dialect Dictionary'*.

remarks on the history of the short vowels, we have a historical
treatment of the verbs in the dialect of West Somerset in
Dr. Bülbring's book on the 'ablaut' in the strong verbs in
Southern English [1]).

A different plan has been followed by prof. Luick, in
his *Untersuchungen zur englischen lautgeschichte*', and after
Luick, by Horn, in his *Beiträge zur geschichte der englischen
gutturallaute*'. Starting from the ME. long vowels, Luick
traces their development in all the English dialects down to
the present day. Luick's results seem to me not very definite,
and the value of his work, more than in its results, seems to
lie in its suggestion of fresh lines of inquiry [2]).

What we now want, is a number of historical grammars
of characteristic dialects. In this connection I may be allowed
to quote the words of Luick, (Anglia 16, p. 491): "Wir müssen
jeden dialekt in sich und für sich studieren und einen einblick
in seine lautentwicklung gewinnen: erst dann können wir
erkennen, was die vorhandenen formen eigentlich
besagen".

Such grammars, however, should not only treat of the
sounds, but include accidence, word-formation and syntax.

The primary question is, whether we have the necessary
materials for such grammars. For, although the latter may be
written equally well by foreigners and Englishmen, it requires
the native of a county to collect full and trustworthy materials [3]).

Apart from Mr. Elworthy's books on the dialect of West
Somerset there is especially one work to be considered: Ellis's
Early English Pronunciation, vol. V.

Very widely diverging are the opinions of scholars on
this book. It has been praised by Kluge as "the magnificent
crowning of a proud edifice which will show new ways in the
study of the English language".

Wright on the contrary says (Windhill p. 174): "the dialect
test in Ellis (viz. for Windhill) contains several strange mistakes

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1) The chapter on the verbs in the modern dialects has been
translated for the English Dialect Society (nr. 63).

2) See the '*Vorwort*', p. VI.

3) Prof. Wright is collecting phonographic specimens of English
dialects for the historical grammar which he has promised to publish
as part of the last volume of the Dialect Dictionary.

both in the version and the notes to it. If his rendering of the dialect test of other dialect-speakers is as inaccurate as that of the Windhill dialect, the value of these tests for phonetic or philological purposes is not very great. The classified word-list (p. 391—4) also contains many mistakes." And on p. 159 f. Wright says that according to Dr. Murray some of the Scotch dialects are not accurately represented either.

For Windhill Ellis had the help of a scholar with phonetic training; for many other dialects he had to content himself with far less competent informants: if then the Windhill dialect is not accurately rendered it is impossible to expect that the others are.

Prof. Luick, whose Untersuchungen are largely based on Ellis's 5th volume, says that, although mistakes occur, they are not so serious for the historian of a dialect because they will 'usually' concern the analysis of a sound, not its identity with or difference from neighbouring sounds. And Luick remarks with truth that the latter is more important for the historian than an absolutely accurate analysis.

But it is not so certain that the mistakes are mostly of the kind indicated by Luick.

Another objection to Ellis's book is the small number of words given for some dialects. Luick has shown (Unters. § 194) that even the comparatively full materials which Ellis gives for W. Somerset lead to wrong conclusions.

I believe, therefore, that Ellis's materials, valuable as they are, can only be used safely in connection with those of well-known dialects.

Such a well-known dialect is that of West Somerset. Probably no English dialect has been treated so fully and accurately. Mr. Elworthy's books give us complete information on the sounds and accidence with many interesting notes on syntax, whilst he finished his task with a dictionary of the dialect words in which the meanings are fully treated.

There can be no doubt that many of the pronunciations given by Mr. Elworthy are adaptations of the standard language. Not all the words can be dialectal, for no dialect-speaker uses as many as three thousand words. But of those that are certainly used many have according to one book a pronunciation

almost identical with standard English, according to another
their pronunciation deviates widely from it [1]). For reckoning
we find (ræknin) and rEklin); for oration (orErshvn) and
(noorEvrshvn); for ashes (aksn) and (aarshəz).

The fullness of the word-lists often enables us to show
where the standard pronunciation has influenced dialectal
speech. When *end* is given as (*ee*n) and as (iin) we might
hesitate to explain the first as due to the influence of the
standard pronunciation, if an exclusively dialectal word, '*tend*'
pronounced (tiin) did not prove that (ii) is the dialectal sound [2])..
This also shows the value of words not used in English, al-
though on the other hand the etymology of such words is often
doubtful or unknown.

The arrangement of the present work is shown in the
detailed list of Contents. I may here remark that the I[st] Chapter,
though based on the books of Mr. Elworthy and Mr. Ellis,.
does not only present their materials systematically, but also
draws conclusions from them (e. g. on the mutual relation of
sounds in the dialect).

The paragraphs on Accidence (both in the first and third
chapters) include syntax. Elworthy's remarks on the latter
concern the meaning of grammatical forms only, and it would
not have served any useful purpose to separate them from
accidence.

Following Wright's example I have traced, in the second
chapter, the ME. sounds to which the modern stressed vowels
and diphthongs correspond. The words are throughout given
in their standard spelling; the pronunciation is given in the
Glossary. Where the spelling leads to an entirely false idea
of the pronunciation, and in the case of words showing a
peculiar development, I warn the reader by italic type to look
the word up in the Glossary.

In the third chapter an attempt is made to give the
history of the late ME. forms down to the present time. The
vowels and diphthongs are treated fully, the consonants only

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1) It may not be superfluous to add that both statements may
be correct. For wherever a standard pronunciation has arisen there
is a tendency among dialect-speakers to approach it.

2) See § 214.

so far as they deviate from the development in standard English. Such changes as the loss of initial k, g in *know, gnaw* are not included, therefore. If any doubt should arise whether the dialect agrees in its pronunciation of the consonants with the standard language, the Glossary can solve it. In treating the history of the sounds I have not followed Wright's example in separating the native and the French words. Their development is in most cases the same and where it is not a separate paragraph is sufficient to show it. It should be remembered that many French words are really dialectal, not borrowed from modern standard English: they share, therefore, the development of the native English words. *Oration* e. g. might be suspected of being a literary word, but its pronunciation (with initial *n*), and especially its meaning (disturbance) show that it is really dialectal.

Some critics will perhaps think that I might have made more use of the Early MnE. grammars. But the information they supply is often unreliable, and, above all, really applies only to the standard language. I venture to hope, therefore, that my work has not lost much of its value by this omission.

The section on unstressed syllables includes a few remarks on stress; the materials at our disposal do not specially concern themselves with stress so that the information they supply is only accidental.

The chapter on the history of accidence discusses only those things which are peculiar or remarkable, without repeating what the dialect shares with literary English.

The paragraphs on Derivation show how important this part of grammar is for the correct explanation of what often seem to be sound-changes (compare especially §§ 473, 481).

Although in the third chapter I have sometimes used the standard language for comparison, it seemed most convenient to treat in a separate, fourth chapter those points in the history of sounds which require a full discussion. In many cases the abnormal development is shared by other dialects and by the standard language. The digression these peculiarities require would have been inconvenient breaks in the course of the third chapter. I have added the etymology of some difficult words, again mostly words which have not been satisfactorily explained in their standard forms either.

The fifth chapter shows in some detail the relation of the West Somerset dialect to its neighbours, East and West. On the whole it is clear that it may be fairly taken as a specimen of the modern southern dialects. In some points, however, it differs from the surrounding dialects, especially from those to the East. These differences must have partly existed in earlier times; they show e. g. that the West Somerset dialect is not the descendant of either Alfred's or Aelfric's language.

The Glossary gives the pronunciation of all the words in Mr. Elworthy's 'Dialect of W. S.' and his 'W. S. grammar'. From the 'W. S. Wordbook' I have taken those words only which show interesting points, either in their sound or with regard to accidence. In order not to increase the bulk of the Glossary, I have omitted all words that are regular. I have also left undiscussed the differences of meaning between dialect and standard speech [1]), only noting them when necessary for the identification of the words. The glossary gives references only where they are not evident, hence especially to words that have been separately discussed. If, for instance, the reader finds *east* transcribed with (*ees*) he does not need a reference to Chapter II § 155, 1 to find out that (*ee*) corresponds to ME. ẹ̄, nor to Chapter III § 258, stating that ME. ę̄ has usually become (*ee*).

The Glossic transcription in Mr. Elworthy's books has been replaced by Palaeotype, not because the latter is so practical, but because it is used in Ellis's book and must therefore be familiar to all students of English dialects. For the sake of convenience it is moreover explained below.

The value of dialect-study is now generally acknowledged [2]). Prof. Behaghel even declares (Literaturblatt, January 1904, col. 2) that 'nearly all progress in our knowledge of the Middle High German sounds (in the last quarter of the nineteenth century) is due to the study of the modern dialects'. Although it is most unlikely that English dialects will ever become so

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1) For the meanings of dialect words see the English Dialect Dictionary.

2) Its latest advocate with regard to the English dialects is Dr. J. H. Kern: *De beoefening der nieuw-engelsche tongvallen.* Groningen 1901.

important, there is no doubt that they can often elucidate the older periods of English. The loss of final d, t in the dialect of West Somerset e. g. shows that the omission of d, t in OE. mss. is not due to a mistake, and that editors are wrong in altering these readings. — The word reive, which does not occur in Southern English in older texts and might therefore be taken for a Norse loanword, is found in the modern W. Somerset dialect. This makes it quite possible that it is a genuine English word.

The most interesting result of this study, however, seems to be the proof it affords of the artificiality of Living Standard English. For artificial pronunciations compare the standard pronunciation of sovereign with the dialectal (§ 234)[1]. The dialect neither shares the differentiation of they who and those who; see also the section on the verbs in the third chapter. In syntax the dialect has preserved the singular of nouns of measure after numerals, where the standard language uses a logical plural.

All this shows how much more natural the development of the dialect has been than that of the standard language.

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[1] See Köppel, *Spelling-pronunciations* (Quellen und Forschungen nr. 89). 1901.

TABLE OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS.

In Ellis V the following comparison is made of Palaeo-type with the analysis of vowel-sounds by Bell and Sweet:

Narrow			Wide		
		i	*ʋ*		*i*
Ǝ	ə	*e*	a	ah	e
		E			æ
Rounded			**Rounded**		
u			*u*		y
o		ə			
A					

It may be convenient to compare the vowels of the dialect with those of better-known languages; the sounds, of course, are hardly ever identical.

(i) = i   in French si.
(*i*) = i   in English bit.
(*e*) = ee   in German see.
(e) = e   in English men.
(E)= ä   in Swedish lära.
(æ)= a   in English man.
(y) = u   in French lune (but see § 39).
(ə) = eu   in French peu.
(Ǝ)= u   in English but (but see § 40).
(a) = a   in German mann.
(u) = ou   in French sou.
(*u*) = u   in English put.
(*o*) = o   in German so.
(A)= aw in English law (short);

in a few cases Mr. Elworthy gives the Glossic notation (o)
which in Palaeotype would be (ɔ), Bell-Sweet's low—back—
wide—round, but that is probably an oversight. For (ɔ) and
(ɒ) see §§ 33—40.

The symbols for the consonants can hardly be misunder-
stood. (dzh) and (tsh) represent the pronunciation of *g* in *age*,
and of *ch* in *child*.

(dh) and (th) = *th* in *this* and *thin*. Instead of (q),
Ellis's symbol for the *ng* of *sing* I use (ng). On the pronun-
ciation of (r), as on all other details regarding the sounds I
refer to the first chapter of this work.

The ME. vowel-quantities have been marked, as in Mors-
bach's grammar: — denotes original (OE.) length; ˆ denotes
lengthening in open syllables; ′ denotes lengthening before
consonant-groups. Hence I assume ME. ē in *sleep, leech*;
ME. ê in *pea, even*; ME. é in *end* etc.

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Unters. : see Luick.
Wdb. = Elworthy West-Somersetshire Wordbook. 1886.
Windhill = J. Wright A grammar of the dialect of Windhill. 1892.
WSD. = Elworthy The dialect of West-Somerset. 1875.
WSG. = Elworthy An outline of the grammar of the dialect
    of West-Somerset. 1877.

CHAPTER I.

The Present Dialect of West Somerset.

A. Sounds.

Quantity.

1. The difference between long and short vowels is often slight. Ellis's introductory remarks to Elworthy's lists constantly refer to the difficulty of distinguishing between them. Murray (WSG. p. 112) says that "in most cases the distinction of quantity was not a marked one". Elworthy himself often hesitated.

2. Words ending in a vowel especially are often given without the dot denoting length, although they are inserted in the lists for long vowels.

In the list of words with (aa) all words ending in that vowel are transcribed into Glossic without the dot i. e. with (a). The same for words ending in (ii).

In other cases only one or two words have long final vowels. In the (oo) list f. i. eleven words ending in that sound are given without a dot i. e. with (o), and only one with the dot denoting (oo). In the list for (yy) *bran-new* has a dot, but *new* has not.

3. The omission of the dot after final vowels seems intentional. Perhaps Elworthy considered it superfluous; but if so, it is not clear why the dot should be used occasionally, unless it was to mark specially clear length. The final vowels would thus, as a rule, be of medial length. This seems the more likely because Ellis (V 154 ff.) has marked all the words that had (ii) in Elworthy's lists, with (i), as far as they occur in the Classified Word-list (some 50).

4. In non-initial position we find the same hesitation. The same word is given with a long vowel in one place, with a short one in another. For instances see the Glossary, passim.

5. No doubt stress also had often a good deal do with it. Thus we can understand that *should* is pronounced with (əə) when emphatic, with (ə) or (o) when unemphatic.

6. The nature of the following consonant may also have made a difference. At least we find (əə) for *goose, tooth, booth*, ending in a voiced consonant, whilst *foot* and *boot* ending in a voiceless consonant have (ə) by the side of (əə).

7. The first part of the diphthongs (Eɤ, iɤ, oɤ, uɤ) seemed rather long than short. Elworthy always writes the first element double to show length, but Ellis gives the short sound. They are printed here with single first element, although the sound may really be rather medial.

8. On vowel-quantity Ellis remarks (IV 1273): "That there *a r e* differences of length, no one can doubt. That those lengths are constant, either relatively or absolutely, cannot be affirmed. There ist naturally a great difficulty in prolonging a sound at the same pitch and with the same quality of tone. Are vowel-qualities ever purely prolonged? Does not the quality as well as confessedly the pitch of spoken vowels, alter on an attempt to produce them? Are not all appreciably longer vowel-qualities really gliding, that is insensibly altering qualities so that the commencing and ending qualities are sensibly different? Such combinations as Mr. Hallam's (*ii, uu*) may possibly rather belong to this category than to that of intentional diphthongs. If we were to examine carefully what is really said, we should, I think have to augment the number of these phenomena considerably"[1]).

9. This explains what Dr. Murray says with regard to West-Somerset (WSG. p. 112): that he could often hardly appreciate the difference between long vowels and the corresponding murmur-diphthongs, e. g. between (ii) and (iɤ), (oo) and (oɤ) etc.

10. Before l, r, especially, Murray heard only the vocal murmur of these vowel-like consonants, and "there was no suggestion of another syllable".

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[1] See also Sweet H. E. S. § 66: Diphthongs may arise from lowering the second half of a long vowel. In North-Welsh all long high vowels are followed by an obscure vowel-glide.

With this we may compare what Sweet says (HES. § 115) of the difficulty of "distinguishing the vocality of the vowel from that of the following vowel-like: (finnd) or (fiind) for instance having much the same effect on the ear". And (finnd) can hardly be distinguished from (fiʊnd).

11. These considerations will explain how it is that the same word is in one place given with a long vowel, in another with the corresponding murmur-diphthong.

12. Instances:

both (aa) and (aʊ) in *all, crawl.*
both (AA) and (Aʊ) in *all, lord, fault-, fawn.*
both (æ) and (Eʊ) in *hand.*
both (ee) and (Eʊ) in *bleak, bleat.*
both (ee) and (iʊ) in *bead, clean, creep(er), sleep.*
both (oo) and (oʊ) in *for, furrow, no, stone.*
both (əə) and (yʊ) in *mule.*

I. Vowels.

13. The (æ) is the sound of a in literary *bad* etc.
Sometimes the sound was (ah) i. e. mid-mixed-wide and a few of these words were marked with an asterisk by Elworthy. See Glossary i. v. *ask.*

14. (aa) is frequently nasalized slightly, but not constantly. Like (æ) it occasionally approaches the mid-mixed-wide position (these cases are also marked by an asterisk).

15. (a) is the short vowel corresponding with (aa) but according to Murray (WSG. p. 113) the difference between (aa) and (a) is rather qualitative than quantitative: "(aa) is much thinner, approaching the mid-mixed-wide position".

16. The preceding paragraphs have shown that the difference between (æ), (aa) and (a) is slight. That it was sometimes impossible to distinguish them is shown by Elworthy's transcriptions. In some words he gives both (a) and (æ); see the Glossary i. v. *Candlemas, knot, marsh, morrow, rotted.* Both (aa) and (æ) are found for *stretch, wrestle, slate.* For the relation of (æ) and (E) see § 18.

17. (E) is the same vowel as ê in French bête. It occurs long (or medial) only as the first part of (Eʊ).

In a few words the following consonant seemed to modify it, viz. *ft*, *st*, *s*, *t*, *nt* and in one word before *nk* and also once before *ks*. Before these consonants the sound approached (ℨ). The Gloss. marks these words with an asterisk.

18. (E) sometimes varies with (æ), cp. *Nicholas, breakfast, eleven, seven, said, make*.

On the other hand we also find (e) by the side of (E), as in *axe, flax*; both (i) and (E) in *bigness, six*. For (E) and (ɔ) cp. § 35; for (E) and (ℨ) cp. § 42.

19. (ee) is quite free from any tendency towards a diphthong. In Ellis the sound is in all cases replaced by (ee), except in *wreathe, drive, sight* (= large number).

20. (ii) like (ee) is always a pure vowel.

21. Occasionally (ii) is lowered to (ee). So both (ii) and (ee) are given for the vowel in *be, he, lief, yes*.

22. (i) should be clearly distinguished from (i), which is the *i* in literary *tin, knit*. According to Ellis, however, final (i) often becomes (i). This change is illustrated by the literary pronunciation of such a word as *pity*, where *y* is also lower than *i*. Moreover Elworthy's own lists show that even stressed (i) varies with (i): both sounds are given for *alike, sheep, steel*.

On the relation of (i) to (ə) see § 37.

23. (AA) is the sound of *aw* in lit. *law*. In many cases Ellis found it difficult to distinguish (AA) from (oo), but Elworthy appreciated the difference. In all the words with (oo) the vowel is final or followed by an r, except *coal* and *loth*, which are also inserted in the list for (AA). Most likely the difference between the two sounds, if real, depends on the following consonant.

Moreover in his Wdb. Elworthy omits (oo) altogether and gives (oo) or (oʋ) instead.

24. Sometimes (AA) varies with (aa). Both sounds are given in *all, ball, call, cloth, fall, false, halter, loft, saw s., smaller*.

In most of the words the following l may have rounded (aa). But in all of them literary influence is possible.

We also find both (AA) and (a) in *bald, malt*.

25. Final (AA) seems occasionally to be raised to (oo): *blow, crow, flow, ought, soul* are given with both (AA) and (oo).

26. The distinction between (AA) and (A) is not clear (see § 1); (A) like (AA) varies with (oo) for which cp. § 23.

27. (oo) is always a pure vowel. It is not always clearly to be distinguished from (o).

28. (yy) was considered by Ellis and Murray to be a deep variety of French *u*. In WSD. the sound is marked with 2, in Ellis with 1. I have omitted the numbers in my transcription.

29. (əə) sounds like French *eu* in *peu*. Just as for (yy), I have omitted the diacritic numbers. Sometimes Elw. seems to have been unable to hear a clear difference between (əə) and (uu), see § 43.

30. Some words are transcribed with (yy) and (əə): *abuse, enough, due, huge, puss, slough, through, two, womb, wood, you.*

This points to (yy) being not quite so high as French *u* (see § 28).

31. (y) is only given in two words (*duke, sweep*), and Ellis thought the real sound was perhaps (ə).

In his later works Elworthy gave (yy) for *duke*, (ə) and (i) for *sweep*.

32. In list 23 of his WSD. Elworthy gives a number of words with (ə), shortened from (əə). Before *k* and in *sooner, future* he thought he heard a full long (əə), but Ellis considered the sound to be short (see § 1).

Before *l* the sound seems to be modified.

33. In WSD. several lists of words are given, the sounds of which seemed slightly different, although neither Ellis nor Elworthy could analyse them. These lists are 30 (Part I, II, III) and 28. Later examination convinced Dr. Murray that the vowel in all the words was the same, viz. the natural vowel, (ə) in Ellis's palaeotype. A look at the instances (Chapter II, § 167) will make it clear that the difference which Elworthy heard depended on the following consonant. I have therefore transcribed all these words with (ə).

34. The words in list 30 Part II (mostly with i + lip-consonant: *bib, glib*) have the same Glossic sign as those in list 23. This makes it doubtful whether they have (ə), see § 32, or (ə) as explained in § 33.

In a later work however (WSG.) Elw. explains the words in list 30 as having the 'natural vowel' i. e. (ə).

That proves that the difference between (ə) and (ɔ) is hardly appreciable.

35. It is natural that (ə), being the 'natural' or 'indifferent' vowel, should vary with other vowels.

On its relation to (ɔ) cp. § 34.

Both (ə) and (E) are given in *aslant, betwixt, bitter, breast, fit, miss, oats, shalt, sister, stiff, worst, worth, wreath.*

In most of these cases it seems likely that a velar or labial consonant has obscured the (E). That the varying transcriptions are intentional is almost certain, for in Elworthy's edition of the Exmoor Scolding *dedst* is in one passage transcribed with (ə), and three lines further down (1. 90) with (E).

36. The vowel in *whip* is given as (ɔ) and (u); the latter is no doubt due to the preceding labial.

The same explanation holds for (ꓮ) by the side of (ɔ) in *bellows, bulge, chimney, christening, groats, shift;* perhaps also in *shelter.* Both sounds are also given in *yon, beyond.*

37. For the relation of (ə) and (i) the transcriptions of *curds* are very instructive: in WSD. Elw. says: '(kridz) always so pronounced'; in Wdb.: '(krədz) always so pronounced'.

A great many words which had (i) according to WSD., have (ə) in the Wdb., except those where *k* follows.

38. (ɐ) occurs principally in unstressed syllables. In WSD. Ellis analysed it as (ə), but in EEPr. he gives (ɐ) and the latter analysis is adopted here.

39. (ɐ) also occurs in a few stressed syllables (see Ch. II § 169), but in those Ellis hesitated between (ꓮ), (ə), and the vowel of list 30 Part II, now also (ɔ), see § 33. In the Wdb. Elw. always gives (ə). Both (ə̄) and (ɐ) are given in *slim,* both (ꓮ) and (ɐ) in *beyond, shift, burying, affront.*

All this shows the difficulty of distinguishing between (ə), (ɐ), and (ꓮ).

40. (ꓮ) is not exactly the same sound as *u* in lit. *but.* It often resembles (o), from which it differs by being unrounded.

41. Before the ending (-dɐr) Ellis thought the sound was quite different. The explanation is no doubt to be found in the coronal articulation of the *r* which also affects the preceding *d* (see § 67).

Elw. in his Wdb. gives (ꓮ) in all the words. Only in *gutter* he gives both (ꓮ) and the sign which Ellis had invented for the vowel in this combination.

42. Variations like (i) and ($ɟ$) in *clutch, mellow* hardly require a comment after what has been said on the relation of (i) and (ə), and (ə) and ($ɟ$), see §§ 37, 36.).

The variation of (E) and ($ɟ$) before *l* is also a well-known phenomenon (See Gloss. i. v. *dull* and § 64).

43. (uu) is high-back-round. It is rare in this dialect, and in WSG. and Wdb. Elworthy gives in all cases another sound: (əə) in *above, crumb, gone, music*; (yy) in *durable*. (*fluent* is not given in either WSG. or Wdb.) See also §§ 242, 248, 285, 288.

44. (u) is very rare: it is only heard in *go, floor, tooth.*

45. (*u*) is the vowel in lit. *full*. It occurs rarely, and where it is given it nearly always varies with (ə), see § 36.

II. Diphthongs.

46. All the diphthongs are falling, and the second part is invariably (i) or (*u*), not (i) or (u). I have, however, not followed Ellis's example in marking these peculiarities, but state them here once for all[1]).

47. (aai) has its first element decidedly long (see however § 49).

48. (ai) and (əi) were distinguished by Ellis in WSD. but the difference is so small that not rarely the same word has both. And later in EEPr. V p. 146 Ellis says: "Mr. Elworthy originally appeared to me to make two forms (ai) and (əi) but on the last examination I did not find the separation certain, and . . . . I selected (ai). The first element is (a), approaching (æ)".

49. According to Ellis (ai) and (aai) are kept distinct. This is true on the whole but there are a few words with both (aai) and (ai), (əi) viz. *raise, abide, bait, fie, good-bye, high, my, why.* See §§ 62, 289.

50. The first element of (AAi) is usually long, longer than in the standard pronunciation of *boy.*

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1) In a few words a long vowel is followed by (i), not (*i*); the two sounds, however, do not form a diphthong, but belong to different syllables: *thaw* v. (dhAA—i); for (—i) cp. § 73. *most* (muu—is); for —is) cp. §§ 275, 298.

(AAi) varies with (aai) in *bait* (see the Gloss. i. v. *bait*). Although the two pronunciations have different meanings the origin of the vowels is the same so that we may compare the variation with that of (AA) and (aa), see § 24.

51. (AAi) preceded by a labial becomes (Ꜣi) Sometimes there is a confusion between (Ꜣi) and (AAi) which is easily accounted for by the pronunciation of (Ꜣ), as explained by Ellis (see § 40).

52. In WSD. Ellis distinguished (Eu) and (ɘu). (E) in (Eu) occasionally approached to (æ); (ɘu) was the same as the sound in the standard language. But in the Wdb. Elw. often gives the same word with both (Eu) and (ɘu). And in EEPr. V p. 146 Ellis gives only forms with (Eu). He adds that (Eu) "did not fall into (æu)", a remark which directly contradicts what he had said on the pronunciation of (Eu) in WSD.

Murmur-diphthongs.

53. On the character of the murmur-diphthongs and their relation to the corresponding long vowels see §§ 8—13.

54. The first element of (iʋ) is usually long. Where it is medial the Gloss. marks it with an asterisk. The (i) is often lowered to (*ii*) or (*i*), see § 55.

55. The first element of (Eʋ) is often raised to (*ee*) or even (ii). Thus the sound becomes identical with (iʋ). Dr. Murrays says (WSG. p. 113) that he often heard no difference in words which according to Elw. had partly (Eʋ), partly (iʋ).

In accordance with this Ellis gives in EEPr. the transcription (eʋ) instead of (Eʋ). And even Elw. himself was not always able to distinguish (Eʋ) and (iʋ); at least in some words he gives both pronunciations. See the Gloss. i. v. *base, chair, heel, heal, shake*. WSD. gives both (eʋ) and (Eʋ) in *fair, bad, lane*. See Ch. III § 259, note on *heal*. WSG. p. 38 gives (peʋrz) '*pears*'.

56. Ellis thought (WSD.) that the words in list 27 (oʋ) had (o) for their first element as well as those in list 14 (oʋ). Murray (WSG.) also heard only one sound (oʋ). Elw. in his Wdb. gives (oʋ) exclusively.

Sometimes the first part is higher still and becomes (u). See § 57.

On the other hand the first element is sometimes even lower than (o), viz. (A). See Gloss. i. v. *roast*.

57. (uʊ) very often varies with (oo) and (oʊ). We find both (uʊ) and (oo) in *sull*; both (uʊ) and (oʊ) in *abroad, boat, cord, more, foam, forge, forth, moor, sort, toad*.

This shows that the (u) of (uʊ) often, if not always, approaches (u).

(uʊ) like (oʊ) is occasionally lowered to (Aʊ); see Gloss. i. v. *roast, toast*.

It is sometimes shortened: to (u) in *soap*; to (o) in *ghost, rope*; also in *above-board*, but in this case the shortening is probably due to weak stress.

58. Before final *l* and *r* the glide is so clear as to make a diphthong into a distinct triphthong. But medial *l* has no such influence; see § 61.

59. (əi) before *l* and *r* becomes (əiʊ).

60. (Eu) and (əu) before *l* become (Euʊ), (əuʊ). Before *r* they seemed 'somewhat' different, viz. (auʊ).

61. (aai) before *l* and *r* becomes (aaiʊ): *ail, rail, tail*. But (aai) in *ailment, railing, tailor* according to § 58.

62. Both (aaiʊ) and (əiʊ) are occasionally given in one word; see § 49.

III. Consonants.

63. The pronunciation of the consonants differs little from standard English. Only a few points require to be mentioned.

64. *L* is often velar; this explains the pronunciation of the vowels before *l*; see § 36 and § 42.

65. Initial *r* is often transcribed with (hr) but by no means regularly. The difference between the two is no doubt hardly appreciable.

66. On the articulation of (r) Murray makes the following interesting observations (WSG. p. 112): "The most striking feature in the pronunciation is the strongly pronounced 'cerebral' or reversed *r*, produced by turning the tip of the tongue back as far as possible into the hollow of the palate, and then imparting to the whole member as strong a vibration as it is

capable of in this position. The result is a dull, deep, vibrant
sound, very distinct from the lip-trill of a Northern r on the
one hand or the French and German r grasseyé on the other.
It prevails all over the south of England, becoming less and
less vibratory as we come from west to east. I heard it
distinctly in the Isle of Wight from natives; and it is the un-
doubted progenitor of the vocalized r of London and literary
English, which could never have arisen from the Northern
tip-trill. In West-Somerset it is not only pronounced where
it is historically present, whether medial or final as in (AArdɐr)
order, but it is added to medial and final vowels in many
words with equal distinctness, as in (faarshin) *fashion*, (ɐr) *he*,
where it must be remembered that r is not a mere modification
of the vowel but a true consonant.

67. The reversed position of the r also affects the pro-
nunciation of consonants, chiefly *t*, *d*, *l*, and of the vowels
that accompany it. The sound itself has so much vocal quality,
and tends to begin with so deep a guttural vowel, that such
words as *red*, *rich*, *run* are heard as (Ǝrd, Ǝrtsh, Ǝrn), which
ought almost as truly to be written rd, rtsh, rn or r rd etc.,
the succeeding short e, i, u being lost between the vibration of
the r and the consonant"[1]).

68. Peculiar to the southern English dialects are the
voiced initial open consonants. In reality however the conso-
nants are not completely voiced. The on-glide is always
voiceless, and thus it is often difficult, esp. in quick speech
to decide whether the sound is voiced or voiceless. On this
question Ellis has a note (WSD. p. 69): "So far as I could
make out, the words really began in all cases with (fv)" i. e.
the on-glide was voiceless. Ellis compares the English finals
as in his, pronounced (hizs) i. e. with voiceless off-glide. "But
when much emphasis is laid on the word the hiss is driven
out so sharp as to predominate, and hence the buzz is not
observed, and (f, s, sh, th) alone are recognized."

69. These observations explain how Elw. could in one
place transcribe a word with (f), in another with (v). In the
list of words with initial (f) he includes *fair*, *fine*, *flue*, which

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1) Cp. *run* (Ǝrn) with *tea-urn* (teerǝn); *groats* is pronounced
(grǝts) and (gɐrts).

he declares to have both (f) and (v) on pp. 39, 62, 67 resp. of WSD. And *flame, flippant, front* included in the same list have (v) according to pp. 38, 55, 65. In the list for initial (v) he includes *fin, friend*, which he transcribed with (f) on pp. 41, 47.

70. What has been said of *f* also holds true of *s* and *sh*. Before voiceless cons. (s) is usually kept[1]). Before *l* Elw. seems to hesitate between (s) and (z).

71. On the pronunciation of *k* and *g* before palatal consonants, see Ch. III § 379.

72. Initial *kl* is often pronounced (tl); see Ch. III § 380.

B. Accidence.

I. Verbs.

Inflections.

73. There are two classes of verbs: transitive and intransitive.

Any transitive verb may be made intransitive by adding (-i) to its stem. Thus the transitive verb (d*i*g) becomes intransitive (d*i*gi).

Not all intransitive verbs are given with the ending (-i). The Wdb. gives no ending to *batter* 'slope inward', *go, love* 'be pleased', *smoulder* a. o. But the verb *to thaw*, transcribed (dhAA) in WSD., is pronounced (dhAA-i) according to Wdb. It is possible, therefore, that the omission of (-i) in the case of the other verbs is due to an oversight.

74. The endings of the different forms of the verb mostly agree with those of standard English.

The present tense ends in (s, z, ɐz) e. g. *dig* trans. is in all persons (d*i*gz), intrans. (d*i*gɐs). But very often the auxiliary *to do* is used (this is not an emphatic form as in lit. Eng.): (aai dɐ d*i*g; aai dɐ d*i*gi).

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1) But in the list of literary words used in the dialect (Wdb. p. 855 ff.) words beginning with *sc, sch-* are transcribed (z-sk). According to WSD. *sketch* had (zk-). Cp. also § 363.

In the Introduction to the Wdb. Elw. adds (p. XX and XXI) that the ending (-ʊs), used in all persons except the 2ⁿᵈ person sing., has a frequentative meaning: Her eats (eetʊs) too vast by half. They chairmakʊs (tshiʊrmEkʊs) nif they can get it i. e. work at chairmaking.

In N. W. Somerset and N. Devon the ending of the present tense is (-th). This is also used 'throughout West Somerset, especially by old people', although there it is not the most usual form. And even in Devon and N. W. Somerset (-th) is beginning to be dropped in the plural. All Elw.'s examples are in the 3ʳᵈ p. sing.

75. The imperative is identical with the infin., also for the verbs in (-i).

Peculiar are the imperatives (in tʊ gnn) 'go in'; (Eut tʊ gu) 'go out'; (AAp tʊ kAAm) 'come up'; (Eut tʊ kAAm) 'come out'; (baak tʊ kAAm) 'come back'.

16. Both the present participle[1]) (with which the gerund is identical) and the past part. have the prefix (-ʊ). Elw. says (WSG. p. 53) that the pref. of the past part. is "frequently omitted for euphony's sake after a short vowel". But on p. 58 of that book we find (ʊs dhii jꓱrd o ʊt?) 'hast thou heard of it?', where it is omitted after long (ii). Elw. adds in a note that the pref. is dropped in rapid speech and that the sentence deliberately uttered would sound (ʊs dhii ʊjꓱrd o ʊt?).

The latter rule seems more likely to be correct[2]).

77. The preterite of all verbs is formed by adding (d) or (t), as in standard English:

(lai—laid—ʊlaid) 'to lie, to lay'.
(Eʊ—Eʊd—ʊ-Eʊd) 'to have'.
(kEtsh—kEtsht—ʊkEtsht) 'to catch'.

78. Verbs ending in (d) or (t) have no ending:
(wid—wid—ʊwid) 'to weed'.

.79. After a consonant final d or t is lost in the dialect before words beginning with a cons. See §§ 371, 377.

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1) The ending is regularly (-in); for the cons. see § 339. Peculiar is the pronunciation (gween) 'going'.

2) The pref. is naturally not used when the past part. has become an adjective or is used as such. Cp. (t-wʊz ʊ dꓱn dzhAAb vAAr-n) 'it was a done job for him'.

Hence verbs ending in a cons. keep the ending of the pret. only before words beginning with a vowel¹). The pret. and past part. of (kEtsh) e. g. are (kEtsht—ɐkEtsht) if the following word begins with a vowel, but (kEtsh—ɐkEtsh) before a cons.²).

80. From the rule on final *d* and *t* (§ 78 f.) it follows that verbs ending in a cons. + d or t have two forms, which serve equally for the pret. and the present tense (but the present tense has its own ending, § 74).

 (wAAnt, wAAn) e. g. is the preterite of *want*.

The past part. is (ɐwAAnt, ɐwAAn).

Cp. (ii wAAn t-æ b-m) '*he wanted to have him*', but

  (dzhæn wAAnt AAl dhɐ lAt) '*John wanted all the lot*'.

81. Verbs in (-n) occ. omit (d) before a vowel also: (iiv ɐspeen əvɐri vaardn iiv ɐgAt) '*he has spent every farthing he has got*'.

82. Verbs like (vræsl, zædl, rækn, drætn, znaardl) are dissyllabic and should always keep the ending, like the verbs in (-r), but in rapid speech (d) is often dropped before cons.

83. According to Elw. all verbs ending in a cons. may have the ending (ɐd) instead of (d) when they are used emphatically: (bEɐk, bEɐkɐd) '*to bake*'. The form is "quite common in the Hill district of W. Som. for verbs ending in *k, g, t, d, p, b, v*".

84. It is very difficult to account for this; there seems no reason why these verbs should not have (d) or (t) in the pret. and past part., unless the dialect of the Hill-district differs from that of the Vale.

Perhaps the forms are used because before consonants the ending (t, d) is dropped.

The ending (ɐd) seems to be specially used for intrans. verbs (which have -i in the infin.)³). The trans. verb. *weave* e. g. has the forms (weev) pret. (woovd); if intrans. the forms are (weevi), (woovɐd).

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 1) (r) is not treated as a cons. Hence (jᴣrd, ɐjᴣrd) before cons. as well as before vowels.

 2) Occ. the cons. seems to be lost even before vowels: at least WSG. p. 58 gives (ɐwᴣrk aard ɐnᴣf) '*worked hard enough*'; p. 59: (dhee-d ɐlAAs AAl dhɐr təlz) '*they had lost all their tools*'.

 3) Once (WSG. p. 25) another form occurs: (vAAlid) '*followed*'.

85. Some verbs, in addition to their consonantal ending, have vowel-change e. g.

   (stEʋl—stoold—ʋstoold) 'to steal'.

See Chapter III.

86. The other tenses are formed by means of the same auxiliary verbs as in standard English.

TO BE.

Present Tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:

Sing.
$\begin{cases} \text{ai}^1) \text{ bi} \\ \text{dhi aart, rt} \\ \left.\begin{matrix} ee \\ \text{Ɜr} \end{matrix}\right\} z \end{cases}$

$\begin{matrix} \text{ai bEʋn} \\ \text{dhi aart-n} \\ \left.\begin{matrix} e \\ \text{Ɜr} \end{matrix}\right\} \begin{matrix} id\text{-n} \\ \text{Ed-n} \end{matrix} \end{matrix}$

Plural
$\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{wi} \\ \text{jy} \\ \text{dh}e \end{matrix}\right\} \begin{matrix} \text{bi,} \\ \text{m} \end{matrix}$

$\left.\begin{matrix} \text{wi} \\ \text{jy} \\ \text{dh}e \end{matrix}\right\} \text{bEʋn}$

Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:

Sing.
$\begin{cases} \text{bi ai} \\ \text{ʋrt dbi} \\ \text{ez ʋr} \end{cases}$

$\begin{matrix} \text{bEʋn ai, is} \\ \text{art-n dhi} \\ \text{Ed-n ʋr} \end{matrix}$

Plural
$\text{bi} \left\{\begin{matrix} \text{wi} \\ \text{jy} \\ \text{dh}e \end{matrix}\right.$

$\text{bEʋn} \left\{\begin{matrix} \text{wii, Ɜs} \\ \text{jy} \\ \text{dh}ee, \text{ʋm} \end{matrix}\right.$

Past Tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : wʋz	All persons : wAd-n
except : dhi wɔst	except : dhi wəs-n
dhi wɜz	

Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : wʋz	All persons : wAAd-n.
except : wʋz dhi	except : wAs-n dhi
wɜrt dhi	wəs-n dhi
Infinitive : bii, bi.	Past part. ʋbin, ʋbi²).

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 2) (ʋbi) is used in the 'Hill district' of W. Som., which has naturally preserved the dialect purer than the 'Vale district'.

TO HAVE.

Present Tense.

	Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not

Sing.
$\begin{cases} \text{ai v} \\ \text{dbi s} \\ \text{ii} \\ \text{ər} \end{cases}$ dh, v

Plural
$\begin{cases} \text{wii} \\ \text{jy} \\ \text{dh}ee \end{cases}$ v

ai aan
dhi æs-n
$\begin{matrix} \text{i, } e \\ \text{ər} \end{matrix}$ aan, aath-n

wi
jy } aan
dhe

	Interrogatively:	Interrogatively wit not:
All persons : ʋv	All persons : aan
except : ʋs dhi	except : æs-n

Past Tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : æd, d	All persons : æd-n
except : dhi æds	except : dhi æds-n
dhi ds	

Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : ʋd	All persons : æd-n
except : ʋds dhi	except : æds-n dhi
Infinitive : Eʋ, aav.	Past part. : ʋ-Eʋd.

SHALL.

The use of *shall* and *will* agrees with standard English, as spoken in the South.

Present Tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : shaal, shl	All persons : shaan
except : dhi shEt	except : dhi shEt-n
dhi shət	

Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : shaal, shl	All persons: shaan
except : shEt dhi	except : shEt-n dhi

Past tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : shəəd, shəd	All persons : shəd-n
except : dhi shəds	except : dhi shəds-n
Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : shəəd, shəd	All persons : shəd-n
except : shəds dhi	except : shəds-n dhi.

WILL.

Present Tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : wul, ul, l	All persons : o-n
except : dhi wət	except : dhi wət-n
dhiult	
Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : wul, Əl,	All persons : o-n
ul	except : wət-n dhi
except : wət dhi	

Past Tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : d	All persons : wəd-n
except : dhii t	except : dhi wəts-n
dhii ts	
Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : wəd	All persons : wəd-n
except : wəds dhi	except : wəts-n dhi

TO DO.

Present Tense.

Affirmatively[1]):	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : du	All persons : dun
except : dhi dəs	except : dhi dəs-n
Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : dyy, du	All persons : doon
except : dəs dhi	except : dəs-n dhi

1) See § 74.

Past Tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
Not used as an auxiliary verb.	All persons : dEd-n
	except : dhi dEds-n

Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : dEd	All persons : dEd-n
except : dEds dhi	except : dEds-n

87. Sometimes the principal verb is inflected instead of the auxiliary verb. Compare e. g. (aai læt-n nood hAt i d ʋgAt tʋ dyy) '*I let* (pret.) *him know what he had got to do*'; in the same manner : I let 'n *zeed* the house to onee. — I let her bad 'n. Also with the auxiliary *help* : (dhʋ ool tAm aalweez faadhʋr, jʋ noo, zʋr, Alp drood ʋn) '*the old Tom Alway's father, you know, sir, helped to throw* (i. e. fell) *it*'; also: l help loaded the cart, for *I helped to load the cart.* (compare: I mind help loading the cart, for *I remember helping to load the cart*).

II. Nouns.

Gender.

88. Words denoting persons have masc. or fem. gender (i. e. he or she is used) according to sex. But see § 89. All other class-nouns are masculine:

(dhEʋr nəu dhi-s ʋtord dhʋ pətshʋr. No aai aant, i-z Ani krEʋz) '*There now thou* (thee) *hast broken the pitcher. No, I haven 't, he is only cracked*'. Also (wАl nif t-ez ʋ zəu, i ʋl git AAn) '*well, if it is a sow, he will get on* (i. e. fat)'[1]).

89. Occasionally the masc. pronoun is even used when referring to a woman: (Ar-z ʋ maain gАrt strAAng maaid, *ee eez*) '*she is a very strong girl, he is*'.

90. All abstract and material nouns are neuter.

Genitive.

91. The genitive is formed by adding (s, z, ez) acc. to the same rules as in standard English.

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1) But Wdb. s. v. *barren* : (wul jy wAArn ʋr baarin?) '*Will you warrant her* (i. e. the cow) *barren?*'.

92. The periphrastic form with *of* is sometimes used for persons also. In that case however it implies inferiority or disrespect: (dhʊ faadhʊr *o* ʊn).

Proper names cannot take the form with *of*. Always. (dzhaaks *eed*) '*Jack's head*'.

Plural.

93. The plural is formed by adding (s, z, ez) to the sing.: (raat, raats) '*rat*'; (pee, peez) '*pea*'; (rɔb, rɔbz) '*rib*'; (fEʊs, fEʊsez) '*face*'.

94. Nouns ending in stressed (l) have (z): (vəəl, vəəlz) '*fool*'. But if the (l) is unstressed the plur. takes (s): (ænvəl, ænvəls) '*handful*'.

95. Nouns ending in a hissing-sound + *t* or *k* take (ez): (vrAAst, vrAAstez) '*frost*'; (kaask, kaaskez) '*cask*'. The latter however also has a plur. (kaasez), from the sing. (kaas), as the word is pronounced before a cons.

96. Nouns in -*f* and -*fe* which in standard English have a plur. in -*ves* (*calf*, *life* etc.) have levelled their forms in the dialect: those in -*lf* under (-lf), the others under (v).

97. Nouns ending in a long vowel or a diphthong + (th) do not voice their final cons. and have consequently (s). Only words in (-aath) have a plur. (-aaz) by the side of (-aaths).

98. Nouns in *st* have sometimes a double plural ending:

        (biʊst); plur. (biʊstez, biʊstezez) '*beast*';
        (brist);   „ (bristez, bristezez) '*breast*';
        (krist);   „ (kristez, kristezez) '*crust*';
        (vəist);   „ (vəistez, vəistezez) '*fist*'.

99. This double plural is also often used with collectives. that have a plural form:

        (bƐlis);   plur. (bƐlisez) '*bellows*';
        (brændis);   „ (brændisez) '*brandees*';
        (tAngz);   „ (tAngzez) '*tongs*'.

Also (stEpsez) '*pair of steps, step-ladder*'.

100. It seems that the double plural is specially used where the single ending denotes a collective f. i. (bristez, vəistez), perhaps also (biʊstez).

Cp. (beləsəz, galəsəz, stepsəz) in the dialect of Windhill (Wright § 338).

101. Of other plural-endings there are only a few remnants.

(-n) is still used in (AAksn) *oxen*[1]); (tshələrn) *children*; (vrEksn) *rushes*. Moreover (tshikin) is considered as a plur.: hence the sing. (tshik).

102. Obsolete are (əin) *eyes*; (shyn) *shoes*; (oozn) *hose*, (aksn) *ashes*.

103. (-r) is only found in (tshələr), which is the pure dialect form; (tshələrn) is an adaptation of the standard form and used by "people of some education".

104. Of the old mutation-plurals the following are left[2]):

mEʋn, plur. meen; Ǝmʋn, plur. wumin.

məuz,	„	məis;	təədh,	„	teedh.
ləus }			vət,	„	vit.
lEus }	„	ləis;	gəəz,	„	giiz.

Nouns of measure.

105. Nouns denoting a measure are used in the sing. after numerals:

(wAAn tʋ neen pEun) *one to nine pounds*.

106. But if these nouns are used as "ordinary words" (i. e. not as numerals) they take the plur. form:

(aai·v ʋziid Ǝndidz o-m) *I have seen hundreds of them*.

(t-l kAAs skoorz ʋ pEunz) *It will cost scores of pounds*.

(ʋr wAd-n Ǝni bʋ dri ʋn tweenti jƎr ool, hAn i dəid; bʋd ʋr bən maarid ʋgiʋn ʋz jƎrz) *she was but twenty-three years old when he died; but she has been married again for years*.

107. According to WSG. 'nouns denoting a variable measure' have the plural after numerals: *bag* means sometimes three bushels, but it is also a measure of weight (a bag of potatoes = 160 lbs., a bag of apples = 120 lbs.); it is, therefore, put in the plural after numerals. WSG. also instances *firkin*, but from the Wdb. we learn that firkin is not a noun of measure at all, but the name of 'a small keg in which labourers carry their daily allowance of cider'; there are 'dree-

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1) Wdb. p. XLI gives *oxens*, not *oxen* as the plural, and also *rexens*.

2) The old plural kee *cows*, which is still found in Exm. Sc. (l. 110) has become obsolete.

quart, vower-quart virkins' according to capacity. It is, there-
fore, likely that also *bay* is put in the plural after numerals,
not because it denotes 'a variable measure', but because it is
not felt to be a name of a measure at all.

Compounds in *-ful* also take the regular plur., no doubt
for the same reason.

108. *Inch* and *month* have the plur. form (ǝnshez, mᴈns)
after numerals:

(t-wᴤz twᴤl mᴈns ᴤgAAn vǝl AAp) '*It was fully twelve
months ago*'.

Collectives.

109. Any noun may be used in the plural without the
plur. form, if the plur. is taken in a collective sense, or even
in a not-clearly-individual sense:

(ᴤ mǝni ᴣlᴤm bi gwaain tᴤ dro?) '*How many elms are
you going to fell?*'.

(dhᴤ vrAAs-l dy gǝǝd, t-l tshek dhᴤ bᴣd) '*The frost will
do good, it will check the buds*'.

(bEud ᴤ fiiti pǝip) '*About fifty pipes*'[1]).

(dhᴤr wᴤz a sǝit ᴤ biᴤs tᴤ fEᴤr) '*There were a great many
bullocks at the fair*'; but compare

(aᴠ i ziid dri biᴤstez gwaain ᴤlAAng?) '*Have you seen three
oxen going along?*'[2]).

110. Elw. specially mentions (ship) '*sheep*'; (diᴤr) '*deer*';
(grEus) '*grouse*'; (pEᴤr) '*pair*'; (pǝip) '*drawing-pipe*'; (snǝip)
'*snipe*' as having invariably the sing. form.

Pair is a noun of measure, see §§ 105 ff. On the others
see Chapter III §§ 464 f.

111. *Broth* has always a plur. verb.[3]) Cp. the dialect
of Windhill where *porridge* has always, *broth* frequently a plur.
verb (Wright § 338).

_____

1) (ᴤ) before numerals denotes indefiniteness. Cp. *a few, a
great many* and see NED. i. v. A. adj.[2] 2.

2) Also (biᴤstezez); see §§ 98 ff.

3) It is also preceded by *few* instead of *little*. Elw. Wdb. s. v.
few says: This use (of few before broth) seems wide-spread. See
Brockett, Northumberland Glossary.

III. Adjectives.

Degrees of Comparison.

112. All adjectives form their degrees of comparison by adding (-ʊr, -ist).

Those ending in (-l, -m, -n) add (dʊr, dist).

113. Adj. ending in (-ng) have (-ng-gʊr, -ng-gist). When -*ng* is unstressed it becomes (-n) and these adj. compare regularly.

Cp. (lAAng, lAAng-gʊr, lAAng-gist) '*long*'.

(kEtshin, kEtshinʊr, kEtshinist) '*catching*'.

114. Adj. in -*nt* form their superl. by changing -*nt* into (-ns): (dhʊ ꓱligʊns klooz) '*the most elegant clothes*'.

115. *More* and *most* (muʊr, muis) are sometimes used, but only pleonastically:

(muʊr ændiʊr) '*handier*'; (muis fəəlishis) '*most foolish*'.

116. Irregular are the degrees of comparison of (gəəd, bædr; bæst); (bEʊd; wɔs, wɔsʊr; wɔst, wɔstist); (mAtsh, məni; muʊr; muis, mAAs).

Material Adjectives.

117. Material adj. are "almost invariably" formed from nouns by adding (-n, -en):

(təmʊrn əp) '*wooden hoop*'; (glaasen dzhꓱg) '*glass jug*'; (weetn breed) '*wheaten bread*'.

118. Nouns in (-n, -m) have the suffix (-in):

(ꓱlʊmin kAAfin) '*elm coffin*'; (əiʊrnin beed-steed) '*iron bed-stead*'.

IV. Adverbs.

119. Adverbs are formed from adjectives by adding (-ləik).

Also *lively* forms an adv.: (ləivliləik). The same for other adj. in -*ly*, see § 121.

120. Sometimes the suffix is separated from its stem by the verb which is qualified by the adv.: (dhee-v ʊ pꓱrdi niʊr ʊdyyd ləik) '*They have pretty nearly done*'.

Comparison.

121. The suffixes are (-ʊr, -is), which are added before the ending (-ləik):

(AArdʊrliləik, AArdʊrliʊrləik, AArdʊrli-isləik [1]).

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1) Compare (bꓱʊd *oof* ləik) '*badly off*'.

122. *More* and *most* are often added pleonastically. See § 115.

V. Numerals.

123. The forms of the numerals are as follows:

Cardinals.	Ordinals.
wAAn, wæn	fƷs(t)
ty	sækɐn
dri	thƷrd
vauɐr	fauɐrth
veev, vɔiv	fiith
ziks	zEkst
zæbm	zæbmt
aait	ait-th
neen	neenth
teen	teenth
læbm	læbmth
twƷlv	twƷlth
dhƷrtin	dhƷrtinth
vuɐrtin	vuɐrtinth
viiftin	viiftinth
zikstin	zikstinth
zæbmtin	zæbmtinth
aaitin	aaitinth
neentin	neentinth
tweenti	tweentiɐth;

21 (wAn ɐn tweenti) etc. Never twenty-one. 30 (thƷrti); 40 farti, fAArti; 50 fiiti; 60 (sEksti); 70 (zæbmti); 80 (aaiti); 90 (neenti); 100 (Ʒndɪd); 101 (Ʒndɪd-n wAAn) etc.; 1000 (thɐuzn, dhɐuzn); 1 000 000 (mƷljɐn).

The ordinals from 20—100 are formed by adding (-ɐth); from *hundred* to *million* (-th) is added.

124. Remarkable are:

(lAAng Ʒndɪd) = 120; and the use of (skoor) = 20. Cp. (skoor-n aaf) or (skoor-n teen) = 30; (ty skoor) = 40 etc.

125. Fractions:

$\frac{1}{2}$ = ɐ aaf; $\frac{1}{4}$ = (ɐ kwAArtɐr).

$\frac{1}{3}$ = (wAn pEɐrt Ent ɐ dri).

$\frac{2}{3}$ = (ty pEɐrts Ent ɐ dri).

$\frac{1}{4}$ = (wAn pEɐrt Eut ɐ vauɐr).

$\frac{3}{4}$ = (dri pEɐrts Eut ɐ vauɐr),

never (dri kwAArtɐrz) which would mean *three quarters* (of an apple etc.).

VI. Articles.

126. The indefinite article is (ɐ), also before vowels.

127. The definite article is (dhɐ) before cons., (dh) before vowels. Used emphatically it is (dhee). 'To the' becomes (t) before a vowel, (tɐ) before a cons. : (in t-Euz) *'into the house'*; (tɐ fEɐr) *'at the fair'*.

128. The def. art. is always used before proper names qualified by an adj.: *tha young Josy Heaffield* (Exm. Scold. line 13); *the young Dick Vrogwill* (ib. line 31); in a note to these lines Elworthy says that the art. is still used here.

VII. Pronouns.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

129. There are two classes of demonstrative pron. Elw. distinguishes them as definite and indefinite. The def. forms are used before class-nouns, the indef. forms before other nouns. But see § 133.

130. The forms of *'this'* are as follows:

Singular		Plural
Definite	Indefinite	
ɐz, z, Es		ɐz, z, s
dhiɐz	dhəs	dheezjɑ̃r
dhiɐzjɑ̃r	dhəsjɑ̃r	dhəəzjɑ̃r
dhiɐzhjɑ̃r	dhəshjɑ̃r	

131. The forms of *'that'* are as follows:

	Singular		Plural
	Definite	Indefinite	
	dhik, dhikdhEɐr	dhat	dhee
	dhiki, dhikidhEɐr	dhatdhEɐr	dheedhEɐr [1]).

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1) WSD. p. 23 gives (dhuɐz), which is probably a dialectal pronunciation of literary *those.*

132. (ʋz)[1]) is used before nouns denoting time, to show that the period extends to the present. Hence it is used when the verb is in the perfect tense: (aai aan ʋziid-n ʋz wik) '*I have not seen him for a week*' literally 'this week'[2]).

133. When '*this*', '*that*' are used, not as demonstratives but to refer to something mentioned before, or to be mentioned in the same sentence (dhəs, dhat, dhat-dhEʋr), are also used before class-nouns:

(aaʋ i ziid dhatdhEʋr neeʋ o məin?) '*Have you seen that knife of mine?*'

(yyz AAs ez dhat?) '*Whose horse is that?*'.

(yyz bəəts ez dhat?) '*Whose boots are those?*'.

(ez dhatdhEʋr joʋr tshəlʋrn?) '*Are those your children?*'.

Personal Pronouns.

134. The personal pronouns have varying forms.
The nominative has four:

1. emphatic as the subject of a sentence.
2. unemphatic idem.
3. in interrogative sentences[3]); when two forms are given, the second is used in questions, repeating the subject (e. g. I am going, am I not?).
4. 'unconnected' i. e. absolute.

135. The objective has two forms:

1. unemphatic, the usual form.
2. emphatic, used after prepositions.

136. The forms are

FIRST PERSON.

	Singular	Plural
	1. aai, aa	1. wii
Nomin.	2. ai, a, ʋ	2. wi
	3. ʋr, is	3. ʋs; ʋr, is
	4. mi	4. Ǝs

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1) The pronunciation (Es) occurs in WSD. p. 15.

2) (ʋz) is not used when '*this week*', '*this year*' etc. mean '*the current week, year*'. Cp. (aai aan ʋziid-n dhiʋz wik) '*I have not seen him this week*' i. e. since Sunday; (mEʋs bi tƎrbl pleenti di jƎr) '*Acorns are very plentiful this year*'.

3) In interrogative sentences the forms under n° 2 may also be used.

Object. { 1. mi, mɐ   1. ɐs, s
         { 2. mi, aai   2. wi, ꓱs.

SECOND PERSON.

		Singular		Plural
Nomin.	{	1. dhii		1. jy, jɐ, i
		2. dhi		2. i, jy.
		3. dhi		3. i; i, ɐr
		4. dhii		4. jy
Object.	{	1. dhi, dhɐ		1. i
		2. dhii		2. jy.

THIRD PERSON.

		Singular			Plural
		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	
Nomin.	{	1. ii, *ee*	ꓱr	—¹)	dhe
		2. i, *e*, ɐ ⎫		t, ɐt	dhe
		3. ɐ, ɐr ⎭	ɐr, ɐ	ɐt	ɐm
		4. ii	ꓱr	—¹)	dhe
Object.	{	1. ɐn, n, m	ɐr	ɐt	ɐm, m
		2. ii	shii	—¹)	dhe

137. Instances:

a) Nominative. 1. 2. (aal git-n vAAr-i, ai wul) (*I' ll get it for you, I will*'.

3. (aai kn æb-m, kaan is?) '*I can have it, cannot I.?*'; (bi gwaain, bEɐn is?). '*I am going, am I not?*';

(kəəd-n dy ɐt, kəəd-n ɐr?) '*One could not do it, could not one?*'

(shl ɐr zeen vAAr-n?) '*Shall 1 send for it?*'; (mꓱsn ɐr gun? '*Must not I go?*'

4. (t-wAAd-n mi, t-wɐz ii) '*It was not I, it was he*'.

b) Objective. 1. (gi ɐn ɐz mꓱni) '*Give him his money*'.

2. (ꓱr dedn ze noɐrt tɐ ii) '*She did not say anything to him*'. (ɐr gid-n tɐ shii) '*She gave it to her*'.

138. The objective (aai) is rarely used: (gi aai dh*i*k) '*Give me that*'.

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1) The emphasis is always thrown on the preposition or the verb.

Possessive Pronouns.

139. The possessive pronouns have two forms, one emphatic, the other unemphatic. The forms are

	FIRST PERSON.		SECOND PERSON.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
emph.:	mai	auʊr	dhai	joʊr, jy
unemph.:	mi, mi	. . . .	dhi, dhi	jʊr, i.

THIRD PERSON.

	Singular.		Plural.
	Masc.	fem.	
emph.:	iz	Ǝr	dhEʊr
unemph.:	ez, s, z	ʊr	dhʊr.

140. In the Exmoor district (also in North-Devon) the unemphatic forms of the first and second person are occasionally (mʊ, dhʊ).

141. The absolute possessives are main; dhain; iz, Ǝrz; auʊrz; joʊrz; dhEʊrz.

Interrogative Pronouns.

142. The interrogative pronouns are (y) '*who, whom*'; (witsh) '*which*'; (wAAt, hAt) '*what*'.

Reflexive Pronouns.

143. The reflexive pronouns are compounds of the possessives and (zǝl), plur. (zǝlz).

The forms are therefore

	emph.:	maizǝl	Plur.	auʊrzǝlz	dhaizǝl	Plur.	joʊrzǝlz
	unemph.:	mizǝl		ʊrzǝlz	dhizǝl		jʊrzǝlz.

	emph.:	iizzǝl	Ǝrzǝl	Plur.	dhEʊrzǝlz
	unemph.:	ezzǝl	ʊrzǝl		dhʊrzǝlz.

144. Occasionally the plural ends in (zǝl).

Relative Pronouns.

145. The relative pronouns are (dhʊt), (wAt, hAt) [1]).

146. (wAt) is used for lit. *who, which, that.* (dhʊt) may a l w a y s be used for (wAt), i. e. also in continuative clauses.

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1) In 'I do not know which it is' (doono witsh t-eez) *which* is of course not a rel. pron.

The possessive *whose* is never used and replaced by a different construction, e. g. *the man whose house was burnt lives here*: (dhʋ mЕʋn wAt ʋd ʋgAʋt cz Еuz ʋbᴈrnd dʋ liiv jᴈr).

Indefinite Pronouns.

147. *None* is (nuʋn).

No is (nᴈdhʋr) before sing. class-nouns, (no) in all other cases.

148. In the same way *any* is (ᴈdhʋr) before sing. class-nouns, in all other cases (əni).

149. Instances: (nᴈdhʋr koʋt; nᴈdhʋr beed), but (no wAAdr; no zaalt; no shyyz). (æs ʋziid ᴈdhʋr kEu kAAmin AAn?) '*Have you seen any cow coming on?*'. (deds mit əni ship?) would refer to the plur, (ᴈdhʋr ship) to the sing.

150. Enough is (ʋnᴈf, ʋnəə). The latter form is used when following the word it qualifies, e. g. (meet ʋnəə) and when used substantively.

Life.

I, Etsko Kruisinga, was born on the 8th of December 1875 at Leens, Holland. After attending the elementary school there, I was admitted, in 1888, to the gymnasium in Groningen. In 1894 I passed the final examination, and went to study Dutch and English in the University of Groningen. Here I attended the lectures of professors Bülbring, Bussemaker, van Hamel, van Helten, Symons, Speyer. In December 1898 I went to Oxford for a term to hear professor Napier's lectures. I then returned to Groningen till the summer of 1899.

In September 1900 I was appointed Dutch and English master at the R. H. B. S. at Assen; in March 1901 I went as English master to Sappemeer, and since October 1902 I have been Dutch and English master at the R. H. B. S. at Winterswijk.

I wish to thank my masters and professors, especially professor Bülbring, to whom I entirely owe my training in English philology.

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